voted to that subject. Here we should sketch the rhythm of village life and something of its annual cycle of activity.

The New Year holiday, for the people of China the first fifteen days of the year, is the main period of leisure for the villagers. Food is prepared in advance, and even the women may rest from their cooking during the first days of the holiday. The town is decorated with nien-hua (New Year's pictures) and ch'un-lien (paired New Year's Day mottoes). Visiting friends, and relatives, gambling, eating the best food of the year, wearing the best clothes, and indulging the children, make this the most festive period in the year. For many families it is the only time in the year when they can afford to eat meat dishes. The special dishes of the season vary from province to province. In the northern provinces chiao-tzu (meat dumplings) and other wheat-based elaborate dishes are particular favorites; as one moves south, rice-based delicacies such as nien-kao (year cakes) figure more prominently in the New Year's feasts. Besides being a time of celebration, the New Year is also the time for settling accounts; for many farmers there will be little left for celebration when the creditors have been dealt with.

The regular work of the agricultural year begins immediately after the New Year. In Hopei and Shansi, the farming cycle is governed by the need to conserve water and by the demands of the principal crops -- wheat, millet, and kaoliang.

796 drastically through time, and we shall shortly see that the Chinese Communists are greatly altering the meaning and symbolism of those few which have been allowed to survive.

585 In addition to the annual festivals, the farmer's life of toil may be relieved by ceremonial family events. For a family with resources or the ability to borrow them, a wedding meant a great feast and ample wine; even the poorest families often went heavily into debt to make a marriage ceremony festive. Practical jokes were played on the bridegroom, traditional songs were sung, and the guests, particularly the men, thoroughly enjoyed themselves. The 584 births of male children were often celebrated as 852 were the betrothals, and other milestones of family and individual life. In modern times the ● 527 government of the Republic of China decreed certain national holidays, but these were little observed by the farm villages.

536 In addition to these occasions for relaxation, 538 intermittent special events added interest and variety to the routine of village life. Itinerant dramatic troupes occasionally performed, and until very recently, the story teller frequently appeared on the village streets to spin out his tales to an impromptu audience. The election 622 of a village headman often involved political 788 maneuvering and a town meeting. Pilgrimages to famous mountains or shrines were often undertaken in the slack agricultural season for religious reasons or purely for relaxation.

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The county seats

634 (hsien capitals) were the centers for tax col-
458 lection and administration of the surrounding farm-villages and also served as market towns where the peasant might sell his crop and purchase the manufactured goods he could not produce.

511 Town life for the average partisan was as meager as for his relatives in the village. Long hours, hard work, low pay, few holidays were the lot of most, and living conditions were generally poorer and more crowded than those in the villages. Proprietors of many shops required their employees to live on the premises, so that they seldom visited their families. The diet of the town dweller was as poor as that of the poor farmer -- mostly cereals, vegetables, and some condiments, and meat and fruit on
527 holidays only. Brief holidays were allowed at the New Year, the Ching-ming festival, the mid-Autumn festival, and the Dragon Boat Festival. On these occasions, townspeople usually tried to return to their villages; if this was impossible they enjoyed such delicacies as they could afford and strolled the streets, perhaps visiting friends and attending season fairs and theaters.

369 Life in the towns was, then, closely linked with village. But in the larger cities such as Peking, Tientsin, Taiyuan, and Ta-t'ung, life in some respects has been greatly altered by the modernization that spread slowly from the coastal to the inland cities. The streets are paved, and schools, newspapers, motion pictures, and radio make the people more aware of the outside world than are their cousins in the towns and

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"...when a serious team-use of labor, tools, and farm animals was attempted, a variety of unsatisfactory results emerged; quarrels among the families interfered with efficient output; no one assumed responsibility for the upkeep of communal property; the claims of inefficient members violated the sense of equity of the more efficient..." [19]

Yet the villagers' way of life has been greatly altered by the intervention of the government, through the cadres, in all social, economic, and political activities. The pressure to conform, at least outwardly, is formidable. Self-chosen leisure-time activities are few, meetings occupy a great deal of time, and attendance at harangues by Party cadres, entertainment furnished by traveling theatrical groups (all with their ideological message) take more of his liesure. The slack winter season may now findhim in winter school or involved in a community work project directed by the local cadre.

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Settlement of accounts before the New Year holiday now means payment of taxes and the sale to the government of most of the balance of the farmer's grain, for which he receives coupons. The cadres carry this out at village level.[20] The New Year festival itself is

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19. Rostow, op. cit., p. 84.
20. SCMP 979, Feb. 2, 1955, p. 30.

characterized by some traditional activities, modified to promote government aims, and by some new features. The peasant may buy New Year's pictures to decorate his house, but they will probably be romanticized portraits of Mao and other Communist heroes rather than the colorful deities of former days.[21] He may decorate his gate with paired mottoes, but the mottoes will no longer carry the old wishes for long life, happiness, and wealth, but exhortations to conform to Communist standards.[22] The government may allow some additional food for the season, but gambling is forbidden, and social life has been so thoroughly organized that it can no longer be restricted to family and friends. The peasants have been urged to organize their own dramatic troupes to play the approved repertoire, now brought to the villages by traveling troupes. Special mobile teams trained to deliver organized "cultural lectures" or to show films dramatizing the new order have been moving steadily through the Chinese countryside. The old exchange of visits to relatives in nearby towns now has its Communist counterpart: interchange of visits between urban and rural workers' groups to observe one another's "progress in Communist reconstruction."[23]

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21. Enlightenment Daily, Jan. 23, 1955, p. 2.

22. Cf. the collection of mottoes in Huanan T'ung-shu [South China Almanac], Canton 1953, p. 32.

23. Enlightenment Daily, Jan. 23, 1955, p. 2

668 The seasonal pilgrimage, in company,
● 527 to some famous shrine also has it Communist
198 counterpart: mass pilgrimages to Mao Tse-tung's native village, which is being publicized as a national shrine.[24] Despite its frontal attack on the old familism, the Communist government last year provided special trains to take city dwellers back to their native villages for the holiday; a mass exodus was reported from Peking.[25]

Ch'ing-ming is no longer an approved festival, presumably because of its function as a celebration of kinship ties and family continuity. The next approved traditional holiday is the Dragon Boat festival in June. The boat races have been revived, and the poet Ch'ü Yüan, now a "people's hero, martyred in protest against a corrupt feudal regime," is the focus of celebrations.[26] The moon festival in autumn is also celebrated with extra food allowances and "cultural" activities. The various anniversaries of the Chinese Communists and of the world Communist movement probably do not break into the agricultural working year, but may be the occasion for special propaganda arranged by the local cadre. It will be seen
178 that the pattern of living in the villages has been
668 drastically altered; what remains of the old pattern consists of elements too deeply ingrained

24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.; also, SCMP, 972, 1954, p. 21.
26. SCMP, 1075, June 23, 1955, p. 25.

668 an "around the clock" propaganda barrage. From the first call to early morning calisthenics, the radio blares in every street until late at night. There is pressure to join sports groups, study groups -- all with their ideological purposes. The major Communist holidays are
668 527 celebrated in the cities with great parades and endless speeches. Privacy and chance to be at ease with family or friends are rare.

The New Year's holiday has some of its old gaiety, although subject to the same restrictions imposed on the peasant. The cities receive special shipments of seasonal delicacies, as they appear to do at the mid-autumn and Dragon Boat festivals, and trips back to the family village may be possible for a minority of the urban population.[29]

A Communist press account of the New Year's activities in Peking in 1955 suggest the way in which the old and new are blended. Firecrackers, in the traditional pattern, were set off on New Year's Eve. On New Year's Day people crowded the streets and made mass visits to the holiday fair in the southwestern part of the city. Kites, balloons, and dolls were available for children, and some were given model airplanes bearing the slogan "We

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29. Enlightenment Daily, Jan.23,1955,p.2. In preparation for the New Year exodus from cities in 1955, the Ministry of Railways estimated that "over three and a half million more people will travel than on normal days, mostly to join in united family celebrations of the holiday." NCNA dispatch, Jan. 19,1955; SCMP,972, Jan. 20, 1955, p. 21.

668 must liberate Taiwan." Theaters and cinemas
527 were crowded, and continuous and varied shows--each no doubt with its ideological message -- were performed in the "Working People's Palace of Culture." Further innovations symbolic of the new order were an exhibition by Soviet skaters, chess tournament, the finals of the city soccer tournament, entertainments by workers' amateur troupes.[30]

668 The cities have been cleaned up and en-
511 larged, and building has apparently proceeded rapidly, although improvements in housing probably mainly affect the industrial workers, the favored class in the drive for industrialization.[31] Yet the Rostow study indicates that there has been no real increase in wages for the urban worker.[32] His diet remains poor, his work hours long. But since the Party is anxious to recruit from urban workers, he does have opportunity to rise in life through Party work. Many industrial workers probably do feel some sense of identification with the most rapidly expanding sector of the Chinese economy. This
668 identification and the opportunities offered by
183 the Party are probably slowly changing the goals of the urban worker. He may be less interested than he was once in returning to a plot of land

30. NCNA dispatches, Peking, Jan. 21 and 24,1955, and SCMP, 974, Jan. 22-26,1955, pp. 31-32.

31. Rostow, op. cit., p. 160.

32. Ibid., pp.160-61.

532 nien-hua. New Year's pictures are exploited
● 529 by the Communists as a means to secure people's consent and support for their regime. The traditional theme of superstitious propitiation to gods has been transmogrified to praise of Mao Tse-tung for bringing happiness and prosperity to the people, to celebration of the Long March of the Red Army, the distribution of land certificates after the land reform, the woman train-conductor, or the "great meeting of Stalin and Mao Tse-tung."[21]

The Communists have boasted of a tremendous sale of the "new" nien-hua in the last few years. The production and printing of the nien-hua are now done entirely by Communist publishing houses, and the Chinese people have no way of buying their traditional nien-hua. The aesthetic value of the nien-hua is practically nil, but it utilizes so well the traditional customs, beliefs, and sayings of the people that its messages are immediately understandable and are apt to be accepted.

D. Comic Strips (Lien-huan T'u-hua)

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The Chinese comic strip is neither literature nor art, but it borrows a little from both to enable the barely literate to entertain themselves with stories. The Communists, knowing the popularity of comic strips among children, women, and the uneducated, have contrived to make them instruments to teach "patriotism," sanitation, and

21. People's Pictorial, February 1951.

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548 the property of brothel-owners, and began to train
464 the prostitutes for work in factories. Some 2,000 prostitutes were taken into custody and placed in eight vocational training centers. About 400 persons who derived their income from brothels were sentenced by local courts.[23]

The Tientsin Federation of Democratic Women undertook to further the employment of women workers. In a three-year progress report in September 1952, the federation claimed to have placed some 8,000 women workers, conducted twenty vocational training classes from which 4,000 women were graduated, and formed various production units to employ the services of a number of women.[24]

V. CHILD WELFARE

•527 The Nationalist Government, following
657 the practice of dedicating one day in the year to the nation's children, promulgated April 4 as Children's Day in 1931. The new regime changed this date to June 1, in accordance with a decision made by the International Democratic Women's Federation at Moscow in 1949.[25]

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23. People's Handbook 1950, Shanghai, Section 7, p. 20.

24. Tientsin Daily, Sept. 24, 1952, p. 1.

25. Hung Hsin-t'ao, Chi-nien Chieh-jih Shih-shih Tzu-liao [Historical Resources on Memorial Days], Shanghai, 1953, Vol. I, pp. 180-83.

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527 657 Children's Day as it is celebrated in the United States and in Great Britain was branded as capitalistic -- i.e., not designed for the welfare of the children of the laboring classes. Around June 1 each year, Communist propaganda media are mobilized for the promotion of child welfare, praise of the "happy state" of children in Communist China and in the Communist bloc of nations, and derogatory references to the "plight" of children in free countries. At this time in most large cities on the China Mainland health examinations for children are conducted. In the period 1950-52, according to a Communist report, more than 1,000,000 children throughout China received health examinations.[26]

To celebrate Children's Day in 1953, a special meeting was held in Peking. In addition to 600 delegates from primary and junior middle schools, the meeting was attended by 100 foreign youths from the various legations and embassies. Vice-mayor Wu Han told the assembled group that in Peking alone some 300,000 children were attending primary and secondary schools, and that of this number some 80,000 had, "gloriously", become members of the Young Pioneers. For younger children, the report added, 190 creches had been established, and Peking Municipality was providing special hospitals, swimming pools, athletic fields, and a dramatic school.[27] Some 3,000 children gathered for

26. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, May 30, 1953, p. 3.

27. Tientsin Daily, June 1, 1953, p. 1.

527 657 the celebration of Children's Day 1953 in Tientsin. Present were the mayor of Tientsin, representatives of the local Communist Party and the Youth Corps, and "fighting heroes" and "labor models." The mayor reported that the number of primary schools in Tientsin had increased; the enrollment of 248,000 children was double that of the year before. The various kindergartens and nursing schools in Tientsin were charged with the care of 10,840 younger children.[28]

657 185 The first conference of workers for the welfare of women and children was convened October 3-12, 1951, under the aegis of the All-China Democratic Women's Federation. With national production the prime concern, the conference decided that the objective of welfare work was to serve the masses of working women and their children. Its principal tasks were to promote better health and better health conditions and to solve the problems that arose in the rearing and education of the children of working people. At the confernece it was reported that some 15,700 child welfare organizations, including creches, kindergartens, and relief institutions, had been established on the China Mainland. Another report claimed that in the two years ending November 1951, some 4,340 persons had been trained in child-care and 3,743 had been trained to care for both women and children. In the same period, 7,295,095 persons

28. Ibid.

729 men. These were provisional regulations governing preferential treatment of families of revo-
736 lutionary "martyrs" and servicemen' preferential treatment of, and compassionate payments to, disabled servicemen; citations and compassionate payments for revolutionary workers who had been injured or killed and citations and compassionate payments for members of the People's Militia and laborers in military service who had been injured or killed.[34] The preferential treatment of families of "martyrs" and servicemen included the presentation of land and farm implements, government scholarships for children, reduced prices, discounts, etc. Only in cases of extreme hardship were direct payments given.

729 At the time of the lunar New Year in 1951,
736 the Communists promoted a campaign to honor the families of the Chinese People's Volunteers
527 and the People's Liberation Army. Since 1951, the lunar New Year, usually called the Spring Festival, and Chinese Communist Army Day, August 1, have been made occasions for the honoring of the families of "martyrs" and servicemen.

736 As part of the program to aid families and dependents of the armed forces, those in the cities able to work have been taught various handicrafts to assure their livelihood; for those

34. Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao [New China Monthly], Peking, Vol, III, No. 3, Jan. 1951, pp. 516-21.

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from damage and theft. Our field report said that the protection was effective and encouraged the villagers to plant trees in the village and on some 200 mu of land that were too sandy for farming, but it did not state how the work was financed or how long it was continued.

The village Agriculture and Forestry Society was organized in 1913. Mr. Mi Chu-wu and four assistants were the board. The society included in its program the promotion of well digging, deeper plowing, the use of more fertilizer, the planting of trees, and the planting of more cotton. The society also took over the crop watching program.

In 1908 a pest of worms attacked the fields just before the harvest. The farmers were inclined to do nothing because they believed the gods sent the worms as a punishment, but Mr. Mi Ch'un-ming persuaded the villagers to join together to catch and kill the worms. In 1915, when locusts were found north of the hsien city, the Chai Ch'eng farmers formed the Insect Destroying Society. The first meeting was attended by over one hundred persons. A chairman, four secretaries, and eight temporary officers were elected. An annual meeting was held during the summer to discuss how to get rid of any locusts that might appear. The villagers were advised how to clean and take care of their farms so that the locusts could be kept down.

At the time of our study it was the rule that all the village residents must help destroy pests. The village gong was rung by the managers of the society to call out the village in time of need. The regulations provided that those who were purposely absent from the meetings of the Society or from any campaign against locusts should be fined.

In discussing the efforts made to promote the village agricultural program, one of the men said "Though not much development is made, the spirit is not to be neglected".

Village Market

The village market was held on the 4th, 9th, 14th, 19th, 24th, and 29th of the lunar month. On the 14th of the 8th month, the day before the fall festival, there were 262 sellers in the food section of the market. Prices of food and other details are given in Chapter XIV.

Industrial Organization

In 1913 Mr. Mi encouraged the weavers of the village to buy a new type of iron loom to replace the old style wooden loom they had been

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by the Nankai Institute of Economics, increased about 75 per cent from 1912 to 1930.[2]

Full time year round farm laborers were employed by 11 per cent of the 400 farm family group and by 10.1 per cent of the 515 family group. In the latter group the largest number employed by any one family was three. Only three families had that many helpers. Two per cent of the families with less than 50 mu, 30 per cent of the families with from 50 to 99 mu, and 72 per cent of the families with 100 or more mu of farm land employed full time workers. The average number of employees per family was 1.4 for the families with 100 mu or more and 0.5 for the 50–99 mu group, but only 0.02 for those with less than 50 mu. On that basis the number of full time hired farm workers in the hsien was some 6,300.

It was reported to be customary for the employers and their full time employees to discuss wages for the coming year at the time of the fall festival, the 15th of the 8th moon. When they and the middle man (conciliator) had had a good meal and had drunk wine together and while they were enjoying looking at the beauty of the full moon they would settle the rates for the coming year. Full time workers were generally paid in two instalments, at the beginning of their term and at the end of the year.

The monthly rates were usually the wages paid the seasonal workers, those who were taken on at the beginning of the growing season and laid off after the harvest. The seasonal workers were usually paid at Ch'ing Ming for the entire season. If, later on, they left or had to be let go their employer generally did not attempt to recover any unearned wages. The first of the tenth month or the first of the second month were the times when the full time workers hired by the year began their work. Some of the semi-permanent men worked from the 16th of the first month to the first of the 10th month.

For extra men, to work by the day at harvest time, spring and fall, the employers went to the "man market" which usually was held before sunrise at some central place in the village. The employers would circulate among the waiting workers quoting the price they would pay. The "condition of the market" would naturally push wages up to a peak at the height of the harvest and drop them rapidly thereafter. Our

2. National Tariff Commission, *The Shanghai Market Prices Report*, Shanghai, October–December, 1933.

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daily rates are those paid under normal conditions rather than the harvest peak.

The holidays and festivals usually observed in the Experimental District were:

First Days of the First Month: New Year Festival
15th of the First Month: Feast of Lanterns
2nd of the Second Month: The Dragon Raises His Head
21st of the Third Month: Pei Ch'i Temple Fair
5th of the Fifth Month: Spring Festival
13th of the Sixth Month: Kuan Kung Festival
15th of the Eighth Month: Fall Festival
9th of the Ninth Month: End of Work in the Fields
Tung Chih: Beginning of Winter
8th of the Twelfth Month: La Pa

TABLE 58. CROP AREA PER FAMILY, VILLAGE AVERAGES

Mu	1st District		Experimental District		Hsien	
	Villages	Per Cent	Villages	Per Cent	Villages	Per Cent
Under 10	–	–	–	–	11	2.4
10–14	2	2.8	1	1.6	64	14.1
15–19	13	18.3	15	24.3	142	31.4
20–24	31	43.7	23	37.1	108	23.8
25–29	21	29.6	12	19.3	67	14.8
30–34	3	4.2	6	9.6	33	7.3
35–39	1	1.4	4	6.5	13	2.9
40–44	–	–	–	–	8	1.8
45–49	–	–	–	–	2	0.4
50 and over	–	–	1	1.6	5	1.1
	71	100.0	62	100.0	453	100.0

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started to go down in Ting Hsien. It dropped 12 per cent in the next 35 months.

From the low point in 1905 to the peak in 1929 the exchange rate increased 469 per cent. From 1857 to 1929 the increase was 295 per cent. In 75 years, 1857–1931, the rate went up 275 per cent.

A comparison of the Ting Hsien and Peking exchange rates showed that from 1862 until 1877 the Ting Hsien rate was the higher. Peking did not have the 1876–1882 dip and rise. From 1882 to 1900 the two rates followed similar declining trends. The Peking rate reached its lowest point in 1900, Boxer year, five years before Ting Hsien. From 1900 to 1915 the Peking rate was higher. From 1918 to 1931 the Ting Hsien rate was regularly higher but both rates had practically the same rapid increase. In 1930 they were only 20 cash (two coppers) apart, 4,080 and 4,100. From 1915 through 1930 Ting Hsien's yearly rate ranged from 97 to 106 per cent of the Peking rate. Except for 1928 and 1929 the variation was not over 3.5 per cent, a very close agreement.

How the extra demand for money at Chinese New Year's time affected the exchange rate is shown in Figure 20. It gives the rates for the Ting-hsien market days of the 11th and 12th months of 1930 and the 1st month of 1931. The rate dropped 23 per cent from the first of the 11th month to the end of the 12th month, but by the eleventh of the 1st month it was back to the original rate, 410 coppers per dollar.

As the city markets were set according to the lunar calendar the exchange shops usually operated on the same basis. In 1930 they attempted to follow the solar calendar but it did not work out well and they went back to the lunar calendar in 1931.

Credit

Credit was provided in Ting Hsien by pawn shops, mutual savings societies, cooperative credit societies, and private lenders. There were no banks in the hsien at the time of our study. The pawn shops were found only in the towns. Mutual savings societies were, as their name implies, for regular savings over a long period of time rather than for short term loans. Cooperative credit societies could be organized under the Chinese law and some were very successful in providing credit at low rates of interest, but they were a new type of organization still largely in the promotion stage and so were not a large factor in the

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536 533 in the hsien. Usually there were 15 or 16 men in a group. This number would include actors, musicians, make up and property men. Most of them were farmers during the growing season and gave the yang ke as amateurs or semi-amateurs for special village celebrations or in connection with the temple fairs. A few of the better actors apparently were paid a salary for their yang ke work. Some of the actors took boys as apprentices and taught them the singing and acting. There evidently was no fixed term for such an apprenticeship. The principal requirement for the boy was that he should be smart, have a good memory, and possess a reasonably good voice. As most of the yang ke players were illiterate, the roles were memorized and handed on from one actor to another. Female parts were all played by men. The costumes were of the type often used in the Chinese theater, but generally were not very elaborate.

536 527 545 New Year's time, especially at the time of the Lantern Festival, the spring and autumn festivals, the temple fairs, and after the harvest were the times when the yang ke were given. If the village had no permanent stage a temporary one was easily and cheaply erected. Sometimes a mat shed, costing about $15, was added to cover the audience, most of whom stood in the open space in front of the stage. No seats were provided, though sometimes carts would be ranked along the side of the mat shed to provide an advantageous position for some of the women spectators.

If the troupe were acting in its own village the cost of the plays was about $10 per day. This would cover the food for the actors and other incidentals. If they were playing in another village they were paid somewhat more. The money to pay for the yang ke was generally raised by assessing the entire village, usually according to the amount of farm land owned. As the plays were generally given for three or four days, sometimes for as long as 10 days, the actors needed a large repertoire.

536 533 Working with the yang ke groups in the Experimental District we were able to record, perhaps for the first time, the texts of 48 plays. These have been published as part of our Chinese report. At the end of the chapter we give the complete dialogue of four plays and the stories of seven more, as samples of the different kinds of plays.

One of the yang ke players was persuaded to make records of the singing of some of the characters in the plays. Samples of four different parts have been transcribed to give an idea of the tunes and tempos.

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CHAPTER XVII

Festivals and Customs

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MAJOR AND MINOR festivals, birthdays, weddings, funerals, all had special customs and practices. Some of these were carried on by varying sections of the community, some were observed by all the elements in the population. Wealth, education, conservatism, religious beliefs, all helped to determine whether and to what extent a family or group followed a particular custom. Since it was not possible to determine all the different customs that were observed by one or more groups, or the exact amount of observance of any one custom, we have endeavored to outline the principal ones followed in Ting Hsien. Basically they were very similar to the customs observed throughout North China, but many showed interesting local variations.

Festival Days

The dates of the various festivals were determined by the lunar calendar. The New Year, which comes in late January or early February, at the first new moon after the sun enters Aquarius, was the festival that all China celebrated. It was vacation time, a time of feasting, family reunions, recreation, and play. In many homes the departed ancestors were included in the feasting and festivities, and food and worship were offered to the gods.

The celebration began on New Year's eve, when new couplets were pasted on the door posts, and new pictures of the gate gods were put on the gates. The kitchen god returned from heaven and his picture was put up, with worshipful ceremony, on the wall near the stove. Lanterns were lighted in the courtyards and beside the main doorway. Banners were hung across the street. The banners often had characters on them and when hung in a proper row made sentences such as:

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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1. Yueh Wu-mu was a very faithful minister of the Sung Dynasty.
2. Shang Wang prayed for rain for his people.
3. Shun Wang, of the Yü Dynasty, had double pupils in his eyes.

Sesame stalks were spread in the courtyard to "pass the year away". They must be cleared away before the dawn of New Year's Day.

While the women were finishing the preparations for the evening feast, the men and the children went out to the family graveyard. Before the graves they lighted bundles of straw and invited the spirits of their ancestors to come home and eat New Year dumplings with the family. On the way back to their homes they kept the straw burning and kept repeating their invitation to their ancestors. Outside the doorway the last of the straw was burned except for one stick that was placed in front of the ancestral tablets.

The spirits of the ancestors were thought to stay for five days and offerings of food were set before their tablets three times a day during that time. In some families a special service was held at the end of five days to return the spirits of the ancestors to their tombs.

For New Year's eve all the family dressed up in their best clothes and, if possible, all wore something new. They had a family feast together and spent the night in celebration. Even the children stayed awake all night. Wine was generally served as part of the celebration. At midnight lanterns were lit and incense was burned to worship the God of Heaven and Earth, the God of Wealth, and the family's ancestors.

Before sunrise some families knelt and kotowed to the east, praying that they would not be stung by scorpions.

[777] In the villages it was believed that it was very unlucky to awaken a person on New Year's by calling his name. To do so would subject him to bed-bugs and red eyes during the year.

On New Year's Day one of the first duties was to greet the spirits of the ancestors and to set a feast of bread, meat, vegetables, dumplings, and fruit before their tablets. The younger members of the family kotowed to the elders. The day was enlivened by shooting off firecrackers. Cash, woven with red string in the shape of a dragon, were hung around the children's necks to bring them wealth.

After a family dinner, family groups, except for the girls and the old people, went out to give their New Year's greetings to their relatives and neighbors. When a bride went to make her first New Year's call she was accompanied by other members of the family. She was expected to bow

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to the younger members of the family and kotow to the elder members. The bow was more and more taking the place of the kotow.

Everyone in China is one year older on New Year's Day.

On New Year's some families endeavored to foretell the weather for the coming year. On New Year's eve they put twelve white beans into small holes cut into a wheat stalk that had been split in half. The wheat straw was then tied together with a cord and put into the water jar, where it was left over night. When it was taken out, the next morning, it was opened and the beans were examined. If any of the beans were found to be soaked with water it was believed that the corresponding month of the year would have a heavy rainfall. Dry beans were thought to foretell months with little rainfall.

Following New Year's day was the time for visits with friends and relatives who lived at a distance. A bride was regularly invited to return then to her home for a visit that would last beyond the fifteenth of the month.

All sorts of games were enjoyed during the New Year season. In many villages, it was a time when there was a great deal of gambling. Officially, there was a law against gambling with the penalty running as high as a fine of $100 or $200. It generally had been customary for this restriction to be greatly relaxed, if not entirely removed, for all or part of the New Year's holiday. In some cases, the time of relaxation was fixed by the magistrate, sometimes by the village heads. One village might have ten days of freedom while another nearby village had only five days. In Chai Ch'eng no gambling was allowed at any time.

The New Year season ended with the Lantern Festival, which was celebrated on the 14th and 15th of the first month. The dragon lanterns were often brought out and carried through a series of dances for the enjoyment of the people. Athletic groups gave exhibitions and yang ke, planting songs, were often given on a stage.

On the 15th of the first month the women and girls wore cedar twigs in their hair to help them avoid lice.

On the 16th of the first month, the first working day of the year, it was customary for employers to provide a feast for their workers so that they might celebrate together.

Hair cutting was generally not done during the first month as, done at that time, it was thought to bring bad luck to one's maternal uncle.

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527 777 In some families the girls were not allowed to use needle and thread during the first month.

On the second day of the second month the great dragon, ruler of the 787 insects, lifted up his head after his winter sleep. Before sunrise the village people usually sat on their beds with pillows on their heads and said three times:

"On the second day of the second moon
The dragon lifts up his head.
I lift up mine first so
No scorpion or earthworm will dare to crawl on my body."

If they did not put the pillows on their heads they would put something under or in their pillows to scare the dragon; red sulphur, cinnabar, green pepper. During the day new ashes were spread around the wells, as they were thought to be the home of the dragon, a water animal. Ashes from the wells were taken back to the family home and there spread around the walls and rooms to "guide the dragon".

Small chickens made from wheat straw were stuck into the outside walls of the houses so that the "chickens" could eat any scorpions coming into the house. The walls and rooms of the house were cleaned to keep away poisonous insects. Kaoliang seeds were planted so they would be free from disease at harvest time.

527 Ch'ing Ming, the spring festival, came on the third day of the third month. Originally it was the day when families went to the graves of their ancestors, repaired the graves, offered a feast to the spirits of the departed, and held a memorial service. More recently it had become also an Arbor Day. Many of the students in the villages went out into the country for a picnic or a walk in the fields as most of the flowers and trees were in bloom. Gourds were usually planted on this day as it was believed that it would protect them from injury by insects.

The fifth day of the fifth month was the summer festival and the Dragon Boat Festival. It was one of the three big festivals of the year and was generally a holiday. Most families hung artemesia and willow twigs over the doorway and pasted gourd-shaped, red papers on the walls. The children wore a five-colored "long life string". Many boys and girls and some women wore artemesia leaves in their hair and hung "tiger" characters on their clothes. This was to protect them from mishap or danger throughout the season. Three-cornered rice puddings,

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tsung tzu, were eaten by practically every family and wine was served. Wine and rice puddings were often sent as gifts to friends and relatives.

The sixth day of the sixth month was the time for airing books and clothes.

On the seventh day of the seventh month the women and the girls were asked to do sewing and knitting at home. On that night Cow Boy and Weaving Girl were believed to meet in heaven.

The 15th day of the seventh month was the Ghost Festival. Most families took offerings of fruit out to the family tombs. Paper money was often burned for the use of the departed spirits.

The mid-autumn festival, the 15th of the eighth month, was the third large festival of the year. In Ting Hsien it was generally celebrated by the village people with feasting and a three day holiday. Meat, fruit, noodles, rice puddings, and moon cakes were generally eaten. Pictures and images of the rabbit who lives in the moon were bought. Workers were invited to a feast by their employers. They were also given a basket containing ten pieces of bread, half a catty of sugared millet cakes, half a catty of moon cakes, a bunch of grapes, and a towel to take to their families. In the villages it was customary for the employers and employees to discuss, at this time, the wages that were to be paid during the coming year.

After the evening feast when the full moon had risen and was shining in all its splendor, many families set a table out in the courtyard and on it placed an incense burner with burning incense and several dishes of moon cakes, millet cakes, peaches, and grapes as an offering to the moon. After the family had worshiped the moon the food offerings were divided among the family.

On the 16th, the last day of the festival, it was customary for each family to eat meat dumplings and fruit for dinner.

On the ninth day of the ninth month many families went to the highest place in the neighborhood and enjoyed special wine and cakes made for the occasion.

On the first day of the 10th month, as on the third day of the third month, many families went out to the ancestral burying ground, repaired the graves, and offered sacrifices of food to the departed spirits. Paper clothes were often burned before the tombs to send winter clothes to the spirits.

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527 On the 11th day of the 11th month students generally went to greet their teachers.

On the eighth day of the 12th month most families ate la pa chou, eight precious pudding. Dates, chestnuts, cereals, and jelly were mixed with rice gruel. After it had been put into bowls it was decorated with designs of birds and flowers made from red and white fruits. It was often sent as a present to relatives and intimate friends. Some was usually offered to the gods on the family altar.

On the 23rd of the 12th month Tsao Wang, the kitchen god, was worshiped, as that was the day he went up to heaven to report to the heavenly emperor on the family's conduct during the past year. His picture was taken down from the wall and burned. Sugar or a sweet syrup was often put on his lips so he could report only good things. On the table in front of the tablet of Tsao Wang was placed an offering of straw, black beans, yellow paper, and incense. After the worship ceremony the black beans were wrapped in small pieces of paper and then sewn into the belts worn by the family to help them avoid adversity.

During the following week the families were all very busy getting ready for the New Year. The house was cleaned, new clothes were made, special food was prepared for the New Year's feast, loans were collected, and debts were paid or refunded. By the 30th everything was ready for the New Year.

Other Customs

241 During the busy seasons the farmers had their dinner brought out to them and ate it in the fields. Before eating, they usually spread on the ground a small measure of grain as an offering to the god of the crops. It was believed that, if this was not done, the god would ruin the crop by beating the ears of grain with a small whip so that nothing would grow on the land of the offender.

Before going out to their fields to gather the harvest the farmers generally burned paper money and incense before the god of agriculture to insure a good crop. Firecrackers were often set off as part of the ceremony.

The farmers were upset if, at harvest time, anyone asked about their crops and when they would be harvested. Such questions were considered to be very unlucky.

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girl, were placed before the tablet of the God of Heaven and Earth. After the adults had worshiped the god the child was brought and allowed to choose from the articles on the tray. His choice was supposed to indicate his future. If the book was chosen the child would be a scholar. If the tile was selected he would be a useless man. If his first choice was the hoe he would be a good farmer. The choice of the scissors foretold that a girl would be a good knitter and seamstress.

Birthday anniversaries ordinarily were given but little recognition, though special foods were often prepared. Eggs and cakes for the boy carried with them the hope that he would continue to grow up in good health; "long-life" noodles for the family dinner expressed the wish for long life. The birthday of the oldest son was generally given more attention than the anniversaries of the other children.

When a man was 60 years old and had lived through a full cycle of the Chinese calendar his family generally held a special celebration. Relatives and friends called to offer their congratulations and present gifts, usually congratulatory scrolls. In some families the visitors kotowed to the man they were congratulating. A special feast was prepared for the family and friends. Wealthy families sometimes engaged bands of musicians and actors to provide entertainment on a stage erected in one of the family courtyards. In some cases the celebration might last three or four days.

What celebrations were held after the 60th anniversary would depend on the family. Some might have one every year. Others would pay special attention only to the 70th and 80th anniversaries. Others might celebrate every five years. The celebrations varied so much from family to family and depended so much on the financial situation of the family that no detailed study of them was attempted.

Marriage

Marriages were regularly arranged by the parents, generally through a match-maker. In some cases a marriage might even be arranged by two families before the birth of their children. If the children were of different sex they were engaged, if of the same sex they became sworn brothers or sisters.

When a marriage had been tentatively arranged the horoscopes of the boy and girl, the eight characters giving the year, month, day, and hour of their birth, were written out and sent to the fortune-teller for

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

fact that the former had to attend to household duties besides the work that brought them earnings. While the children often run such errands, as purchasing food articles or giving a helping hand to their elders, the mother as a rule are responsible for such menial work as cooking, sewing and washing. 466

There are only a few rest days for the Chinese labourer, as no Sundays are observed. Indeed, the Chinese tradition has made certain festivals and the new year national holidays. But persons employed in the Government service and the higher professions observe both Sundays and a number of national holidays commemorating important occasions of the Republic. Generally speaking, the working class is unaffected by these newly adopted holidays. In Table 7, it is shown that on the average the male workers had more working days than the female. Both the young and the old had more holidays in the six months under investigation, but many of the able-bodied had to work 172 days during the whole period, thus having only nine days of rest. In fact, some worked throughout the 181 days without even one holiday. Considering the fact that the working families could eke out an existence only through the daily drudgery of their members fit to work, it will therefore be no surprise for us to find that they take so few holidays. A workless day often means to them a day without livelihood. 466 527

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

sufficient residuary interest in property so divided to prevent the widow from giving a clear title. 511 x 764

In a group of 1,000 ricksha men that we studied in 1924-25, there were 71 who said they had paid for funerals during the previous year. The amounts ranged from $3 to $200, but only six were $70 or over. The median and mode were both $30, the average $36. No attempt was made to secure the details of the funeral expenses. The reported income of the 1,000 ricksha men averaged approximately 38 cents a day, or some $11.50 a month. The cost of the average funeral, therefore, appears to be about three times the monthly income. Probably it would have been somewhat less if we had had a report of the entire family income, rather than that of the ricksha man only; but, on the other hand, the monthly income is undoubtedly high as it is figured on the basis of the ricksha man's reported daily earnings, with no allowance for loss of time due to sickness, vacations, et cetera.

Fifty-nine of the 71 funerals were for parents, grandparents, uncles. Only four were for children. The amount spent for the latter was either $3 or $5. One man spent only $6 for his mother's funeral, another $7.

Thirty-seven, or a little more than one-half, of the ricksha men said they borrowed the money needed for the funerals; 23, or about one-third, sold land; only six were able to pay for the funerals out of their savings. Three secured help from relatives, and two from a philanthropist. Of the 249 coolies who reported that they were in debt, 29 said it was the result of paying for a funeral, but only three because of a wedding.

Only one birthday party was reported by our budget families. It was for a man's fifty-seventh birthday, was 511 x 527

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

a relatively small one, and cost only $69.30, or some two-sevenths of a month's income. If we can judge from figures secured in another study, the family will probably spend from 2.5 to 3 months' income when they celebrate his sixtieth birthday.[1] The even decades, fifty, sixty, seventy, are usually the times of special celebration.[2]

The spending at one time of an amount equal to three, four, or five months' income is apt to be a serious financial burden for any family. This is especially true for many of the Peiping families, as they have so little margin or surplus. In order to distribute the burden somewhat and make it possible for friends and relatives to help meet the extraordinary expenses, it is the custom in Peiping to give presents of money at the time of weddings, funerals and birthdays. Other presents are often sent: as wedding gifts, cloth, flowers, food, objects for personal use; red scrolls and red banners inscribed with wishes for health, wealth and long life; as funeral gifts, cloth, special food to be set before the dead, and—to be burned—scrolls of white silk or paper, wreaths of artificial flowers, paper money; as birthday presents, wine, flowers, food, the latter often including peaches, bread and noodles, as these connote long life. For this group of families, however, the money presents were much the largest and the most numerous. The amounts received for the weddings varied from $27 to $600, for the funerals from $3.45 to $300. The birthday presents amounted to $8. In some cases, the presents came to more than the entire cost of the wedding or funeral, but ordinarily the wedding presents amounted to one-quarter or one-half, and the funeral presents from one-fifth to one-half, the total expenditure.

[1] No. 16. [2] No. 12.

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511 584 A band, sent by a friend, added much to the festivities of the occasion and considerably to the expense. The tip was $20. The photographs of the party cost $8.60.

No money presents were reported, but friends sent one banner inscribed with good wishes, and ten pots of flowers.

Birthday Party

511 527 The largest family in the group, one with 20 members and four servants, spent $69.30 for the celebration of the father's fifty-seventh birthday. It was a feast served in the big family home. Special cooks prepared it and received $14 for their two

Meat and Eggs	**$22.65**
Pork	17.60
Fish	2.85
Kidneys	.64
Liver	.48
Sheep's Stomach	.32
Pig's Stomach	.23
Eggs	.23
Ham	.16
Dried Prawns	.14
Vegetables	**$.69**
Mushrooms	.18
Yams	.18
Leeks	.15
Cabbage	.10
Garlic	.05
Peas	.02
Seaweed	.01
Condiments	**$2.78**
Sweet-oil	1.67
Salted and Pickled Vegetables	.25
Bean Sauce	.19
Tea	.16
Salt	.13
Yellow Flowers	.08
Jellied Fish Skin	.08
Vinegar	.08
Sugar	.08
Pepper	.04
Soda	.01
Alum	.01

days' service. Food for the feast cost $27.55. Of this, $22.65 was spent for meat and fish. Pork was the principal meat. It cost $17.60, fish only $2.85. Small amounts of kidneys, ham, liver, tripe, et cetera, were used for flavoring. Fifteen kinds of condiments cost $2.80, and eight kinds of vegetables only $1.15. Nuts cost 38 cents, and fruit 8 cents. The expenditure for flour and cakes was only 52 cents. The bread and noodles were largely furnished by the invited guests. The presents included $8 in cash,

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

15 plates and 32 boxes of noodles, 22 plates of peach bread and one steamed pudding, eight packages of tea-leaves, fruit, 16 bottles of wine. Wine and tobacco purchased by the family cost $4.90. Tips amounted to $5.45, food money to chauffeurs and ricksha men 95 cents. Repairing the stove cost $5.80, and new dishes $8. Sandalwood incense cost only 30 coppers, 7 cents, and the God of Longevity 32 coppers, 8 cents.

The itemized expenditures for meat, condiments and vegetables are given, as the complete detail often brings out many items of interest ordinarily lost in group totals.

Funeral No. 1

When a family of five with an income of only $14 a month buries a two-year-old younger son, the funeral expenses are apt to be close to the absolute minimum. The actual amount paid by such a family was $1.82. The coffin, made of plain thin boards, cost $1.20; digging the grave 27 cents. The man who carried the coffin to the cemetery outside the city received 20 cents. The funeral permit cost 11 cents, and 4 cents was spent for paper money. Medicine given the boy during his last illness cost 56 cents.

Other families with incomes of $15 and $20 a month paid $2 and $3 for the funerals of one-year-old and two-year-old girls. A family with an income of $47 a month spent $5.45 for the funeral of a one-year-old boy.

Funeral No. 2

A Mohammedan family of seven with a monthly income of $100 paid only $8.50 for the funeral of a two-year-old daughter. White cloth for the shroud cost $1.50, the coffin carriers received $3, the priests $2, and the grave cost $2. The expenditure for "Health" for the four months before the girl's death amounted to $70.

The usual expense for a coffin is conspicuous by its absence, as the Mohammedans bury their dead without coffins. The